

U. S. Aids Brazilian Birchers to Power

By Fred Halstead

APRIL 8 — The April 1 overthrow of Brazilian President Joao Goulart by a right-wing military coup has been accompanied by a shameless campaign of falsification by the United States government and the press of this country. The purpose is to deceive the American people into thinking that what has happened in Brazil is a victory for "moderation." But what has actually happened is that a gang of Brazilian John Birchers have taken over by force and instituted a totalitarian witch-hunt against moderates as well as leftists — and the U.S. State Department is backing them.

Just 12 hours after the elected president of Brazil had been overthrown by the coup of the right-wing generals in collusion with arch-reactionary Gov. Carlos Lacerda of the state of Guanabara, President Johnson sent his "warmest greetings" to the new regime.

Johanson trampled on the truth when he asserted that the overthrow had been made "within a framework of constitutional democracy and without civil strife."

The next day Secretary of State Dean Rusk showed

similar enthusiasm for the Brazilian oligarchy that organized the overthrow when he announced that the U.S. government would work "very closely" with the new regime. (U.S. business has \$1.1 billion in direct investments in Brazil.) He also spouted Orwellian double-speak, asserting that this armed overthrow of an elected, constitutional government was a "move to insure the continuity of constitutional government."

Some inkling of the real truth, however, can be found on the inside pages of the *New York Times* which supports the coup d'etat but which wants to give the State Department a little tactical advice on being slicker about these nasty things.

The U.S. government shouldn't have been so hasty with its public praise, says the *Times* in an April 7 editorial. "This is giving signs of turning into a purely military coup — with military officers exercising a tight censorship of news, instituting mass arrests and dicker-ing with the idea of imposing a general as President against the provisions of the constitution."

In the same issue, *Times* columnist Arthur Krock gives some similar tactical advice and spills some more

beans. After the coup, Krock says, "an anti-Communist purge began that, because it covers 'suspected' Communists, threaten to cast merely liberal thinkers into the dungeons with Reds and active fellow travelers."

Indeed, a general roundup, jailing and purging from jobs of all those who advocate even the mild social reforms which the Brazilian oligarchy considers "Communist" is just what is being demanded by General Humberto Castelo Branco. He is the Army Chief of Staff who is favored by the generals and governors who organized the coup to be "elected" interim president by the congress.

Before this "election" takes place the congress itself is being purged of any members who may be opposed to the oligarchy's plan. Regardless of who the hand-picked congress chooses, then, there won't be a shred of legality or constitutionality about it.

The current events in Brazil are the product of the policy outlined to a meeting of U.S. ambassadors last month by President Johnson's chief advisor on Latin American affairs, Thomas C. Mann. Mann was reported

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Johnson Maintains 'Option' Of Attacking North Vietnam

By Constance Weissman

The Johnson administration is still holding the door open for a U.S. attack on North Vietnam, according to several indications. News analysts in Washington drew this conclusion from some deliberately vague phrases in Defense Secretary McNamara's March 26 speech, summing up the policy results of his recent visit to South Vietnam.

McNamara said the "option" of attacking North Vietnam — "its implications and ways of carrying it out" — had been "carefully studied." He hinted that the administration may be "forced" to take such a "course of action."

Washington columnist Ted Lewis expressed the belief in the March 31 *New York Daily News* that there is only one interpretation of McNamara's remarks. That is, if Gen. Khanh, the new South Vietnamese strong man, is unable to cope with the guerrilla forces, "it would be up to the U.S. to carry the war to the North."

"This is a situation," Lewis goes on, "which the administration officially wants no part in discussing, especially in an election year, and yet the American public has an obvious right to know the answers before the acceleration policy hardens."

Likewise, Joseph Alsop in his

March 28 syndicated column, for the *Washington Post*, asserted that "direct action against North Vietnam . . . is most emphatically not excluded until after the November election, or for any other period of time. It is only excluded for the present 'if all goes well.' But the Vietnamese war is highly likely to be widened without delay if the trend seems to be turning dangerously downward."

Even Senator Fulbright, in his celebrated speech calling for the abandonment of "myths" and easing of tensions in foreign policy, opposed any settlement of the Vietnam situation by withdrawal or "neutralization." "It seems clear," he said, "that there are only two realistic options open to us in Vietnam in the immediate future; the expansion of the conflict in one way or another or a renewed effort to bolster the capacity of the South Vietnamese to prosecute the war successfully on its present scale." (My emphasis)

The rulers of America are toying with these desperate schemes

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2,000 Hear Malcolm X In Cleveland

CLEVELAND — Reflecting and responding to the growing desire for unity in action, Malcolm X, outstanding spokesman for the new black nationalism, and Louis Lomax, noted lecturer and writer currently working on a TV documentary on the Negro in Cleveland, shared the platform at an April 3 public meeting sponsored by the local chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality.

An audience of almost 2,000, including many whites, heard the two speakers discuss "The Negro Revolt — What Comes Next?"

The discussion was a symposium, not a debate, and the speeches tended to complement each other rather than pose sharp or irreconcilable differences.

Malcolm X's answer to "What Comes Next?" had the directness his audience expected: "The ballot or the bullet."

"1964 threatens to be the most explosive year America has ever witnessed," he said. "It is a political year. All the white politicians will be back in the so-called Negro communities jiving you and me." But the 22 million victims of American democracy are waking up, becoming politically mature.

Malcolm X devoted a major part of his talk to exposing and castigating the Democratic party, the "con game they call the filibuster," and the "white political crooks" who keep the black man from control of his own community.

He appealed to the audience to set aside religious differences, or

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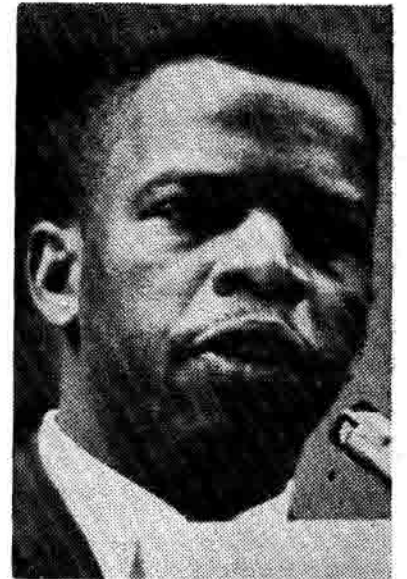
SNCC Sets Drive For Civil Rights In Mississippi

By Jay Garnett

ATLANTA — At least 400 civil-rights fighters, including field secretaries, staff workers, and northern supporters of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, joined in SNCC's 1964 Spring Conference here over the weekend of March 27-29. The gathering devoted principal attention to the political and technical problems of SNCC's summer work, which will concentrate on "restoring constitutional government to the state of Mississippi."

The Summer Project in Mississippi will involve voter registration under the auspices of COFO (Council of Federated Organizations) — outside of the existing political structure here — as well as continued attempts to register inside the official set-up. Included in the project is a plan to flood the state with at least a thousand Northern students, if possible a majority of them white, to teach in freedom schools and help in the voter registration. A "Free Southern Theater" is to be constituted to give expression to the cultural talents and interests of Southern Negroes.

High point in the summer's work will be balloting for delegates to the state convention of the Mississippi Freedom Party which will be held early in August. The state convention will select a delegation to challenge the credentials of the Mississippi Democrats at the Democratic National Convention. A Congressional delegation also elect-



John Lewis

ed outside the racist power structure will challenge the seating of Mississippi Democrats in Congress.

James Forman, executive secretary of SNCC, began a symposium Saturday morning which dealt with the general question of "state power vs. federal power." He reviewed the little-remembered history of the Reconstruction period in Mississippi. "In 1875 the Democratic Party overthrew the republican form of government by force and violence. It did this through terror, intimidation, ballot-box stuffing . . . President Grant refused to send federal troops."

Today, he went on, the same situation continues. "The federal government refused to send troops to Albany, Ga. It hasn't done anything there except indict a lot of [our] people."

Forman cited the instance of one county where between 1873 and 1876 the number of registered Negroes dropped from 2433 to 2.

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Disturbed by Varied Progressive Activities

HUAC Red-Baiters Slate Buffalo Probe

BUFFALO, N.Y., April 4 — The infamous House UnAmerican Activities Committee has scheduled hearings for April 14 and 15 in this city and has subpoenaed production workers, professionals, university teachers, students and housewives. The committee has not announced topics for its hearings, but the *Buffalo Evening News* reported yesterday that two investigators of the committee "are known to have been in the city for several weeks . . . working with the Subversive Squad in Police Headquarters."

The committee's purpose, however, is clear. It will attempt to disrupt by red-baiting and intimidation the growing activities on the Niagara Frontier in the fight for civil rights, peace, full employment and academic freedom.

Among the most recent activities

which have frightened the conservative power structure have been: the participation of hundreds of Negro and white workers for job upgrading for Negro workers at the sprawling General Motors plants, led by the Labor Committee of the NAACP; well-attended meetings on China and Cuba sponsored by the Committee for a SANE Nuclear Policy; a packed house to hear Mark Lane doubt the official story on Oswald and the assassination of President Kennedy; and the increasing tempo and participation of the Negro community in the struggle for equality.

Students Demonstrated

Increased participation by Buffaloians in the timely great issues were sparked two years ago by the outpouring of over 2,000 students demonstrating their opposi-

tion to the views of British fascist Moseley who spoke at the University of Buffalo. Other activities include the initiating effort of the Buffalo Fair Housing Committee, Inter-Faith Council, and others which resulted in the passage of Open Occupancy legislation in the State Legislature; peace walks; the six busloads of Negroes and whites who marched on Washington; the movements among the unemployed for jobs; the attempts to save Mae Mallory from a North Carolina jail; the organization of a local CORE; the activities of students and teachers at the State University of Buffalo against the Feinberg loyalty oath; the winning of a court battle to hear Communist Party spokesman Herbert Aptheker on campus.

The appearance of HUAC, head-

(Continued on Page 2)



McNamara

Next Week: Cleveland Report

We were just getting ready to go to press with this issue when we received the news from Cleveland of the bulldozer killing of Rev. Bruce Klunder and the first reactions of the Negro community there to his tragic death.

Our next issue will carry a special report from our Cleveland correspondent on further developments in the civil rights movement there.

THE NATIONAL PICKET LINE

In general, the country's labor papers have failed to take any editorial position against the conviction and sentencing of Teamsters President James R. Hoffa. For the most part they have ignored this ominous development or simply reprinted brief wire-service news reports on it. An exception is *The Dispatcher*, official organ of the West Coast International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union. It prints a column by ILWU President Harry Bridges which says in part:

"We know this story from old. We've seen plenty of politicians — including quite a few who have broken their necks in the process — try to get the ILWU and its leadership through the courtroom. For over 20 years we watched liars under oath, rats and renegades come up with 'evidence' that they swore to on a stack of bibles. In many cases we knew precisely the kind of pressures certain government agencies were able to bring on some of these witnesses to force them to become paid stooges — or else. And Bobby Kennedy, with his wire-tapping experience, and his drive for personal power, is no stranger to the idea of using the frame-up as a stepping stone to political success."

The *Missouri Teamster*, official organ of St. Louis Teamster Joint Council 13, took no strong editorial stand against the Hoffa conviction. It simply reported it and asked Teamster members to "withhold judgement" until the appeals go through the courts. Joint Council 13 is headed by Harold J. Gibbons who resigned as Hoffa's executive secretary at the beginning of the year.

Another exception is the *National Maritime Union's Pilot*. (See editorial in this issue of *The Militant*.)

"Where there's a will there's a way"

Weekly Calendar

CHICAGO

CLIFTON DE BERRY, Socialist Workers Party candidate for president, speaks on *The Negro Challenge to the Social Order*. Fri., April 17, 8 p.m. Debs Hall, 302 South Canal St. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

DETROIT

HEAR SOCIALIST VIEWS ON RADIO. Every Monday, 7:15-7:30 p.m. Station WQRS-FM (105.1).

LOS ANGELES

THE REVOLUTIONARY BIRTH OF THE NEW AFRICAN STATES. Speaker, THOMAS ALLEN, African historian, lecturer, writer — recently returned from a tour of Africa. Fri., April 17, 8:30 p.m. 1702 E. 4th St. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Theodore Edwards presents a Marxist view of the news in his bi-weekly radio commentary. Fri., April 17, 6:45 p.m. KPFC-FM (90.7 on your dial).

MINNEAPOLIS

THE EROSION OF CIVIL LIBERTIES. Speaker: Betsey Barnes. Fri., April 17, 8:30 p.m. 704 Hennepin Ave. Hall 240. Ausp. Friday Night Socialist Forum.

NEW YORK

THE INDIANA WITCH HUNT AND HOW TO FIGHT IT, a report by Ralph Levitt, one of the Bloomington, Indiana U. defendants. Fri., April 17, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Pl. Contrib. \$1. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Folk Concert featuring Dave Van Ronk, Alix Dobkins, Barry Kornfeld and Thadd Beebe. Sat., April 18, 8:30 p.m. 116 University Place. Contrib. \$1.50. Ausp. Militant Labor Forum.

Fri., April 24, JOEL A. ROGERS, noted author and historian of the Negroes' contribution to society, will talk on *The Negro in American History*.

way" appears to be this month's motto of the New York Typographical Union No. 6. Printers on the city's major newspapers began punching in for a shorter work week March 30. The change was to 35 hours on the day and night shifts and to 33 1/4 hours on the graveyard shift. This is an hour and a quarter per week or 15 minutes per day less than before and the change is according to the agreement which ended the historic 114-day strike last year.

At the time of the agreement, the companies insisted that when the shorter work week would be introduced, the workers would have to sacrifice 15 minutes wash-up time each day. This would leave the time actually worked the same. Wishing to end the long strike without further quibbling on this point, the union signed in spite of management's interpretation of this section.

Sure enough, when the shorter work week became effective recently, some newspapers, including the nation's largest — the *Daily News* — eliminated the wash-up time. Compositors at the *News* then decided not to use their own time to change to work clothes, but to wear their street clothes on the job. The union's president, Bertram A. Powers, advised the men to be careful not to get ink all over their street clothes while working.

As a result, the *News* — which boasts its ability to hit the streets fastest with the latest news and pictures — has been coming off the presses late, and some editions have been missed altogether. Printers expect the wash-up time to be restored when management decides it wants them to stop spending so much time avoiding ink spots.

Anyone who thinks the country's leading corporation officials and financiers have reconciled themselves to the existence of strong unions should read the recent report entitled "Union Powers and Union Functions: Toward a Better Balance," put out by the Committee for Economic Development (CED). The CED is composed of some 45 top officials of major corporations and financial institutions.

The report was released March 26 by Theodore O. Yntema, chairman of the finance committee of Ford Motor Co. and head of the CED research and policy committee. It recommends state and federal legislation to:

- Ban all union shop contracts.
 - Extend the authority of federal courts to halt strikes by injunctions.
 - Legalize lockouts by employers.
 - Force building trade unions to scab on one another by further laws against "secondary boycotts."
 - Eliminate the "good faith bargaining" provision of the present labor law which requires employers to bargain on such things as plant closings and plant moves.
 - Reduce the National Labor Relations Board to an arm of the courts. This would allow companies to tie up union complaints in interminable judicial red tape.
- Besides these recommendations, the CED listed a number of proposals that it did not formally endorse, but which it says are "illustrations of the kind of policy that deserves serious consideration."

These include a ban on unions organizing employees from more than one company, prohibiting a union from bargaining for employees in competing companies, prohibiting many kinds of cooperation among unions, and outlawing any form of union control over production.

... SNCC Maps Mississippi Rights Drive

(Continued from Page 1)

The racist power structure mobilized 1700 horsemen, armed to the teeth. The "Mississippi Plan" for the anti-Negro counter-revolution, Forman explained, was then copied by the other southern Democrats.

In the 1880's he continued, there was a split in the ranks of the whites. The Delta politicians catered to big business. In a land give-away the railroads, especially Illinois Central, had gobbled up huge sections of the state — and the poor white farmers were squeezed out. But the poor whites made the fatal mistake of joining with the plantation owners to push through the 1890 Constitution which provided mechanisms to exclude Negroes — their natural allies — from the ballot box.

Forman asserted that the freedom movement in the Southland must seek to form a broad base, to break through the color barrier: "The interests of those people who represent the corporations are not the interests of the poor whites."

Dr. St. Clair Drake, of Roosevelt University, followed Forman. "Exiled" to the North for participating in civil-rights demonstrations many years before SNCC was even founded, Dr. Drake is now well-known for his researches in the sociology of the South and has traveled extensively in Africa. "In Ghana, Kenya, and all over Africa young people identify with the kind of activities SNCC is carrying on."

He began his discussion by quoting a Ghanaian politician, who used a Biblical-like phrase in keeping with the language of the mission-educated Ghanaian people: "Seek ye first the political kingdom, and all other things shall be added unto you."

He said, "There are great assets in the history of Reconstruction. But you've got to kill the lies, fill in the omissions, and set the record straight on what really happened."

"It wasn't the uneducated Negroes that messed up the State," he said. "It was the sharpies" who tried to get in on the white businessman's graft, he said. "The real fight began when reconstruction governments began moving toward appropriating money to buy lands for the poor whites and Negroes. Even at that date, the opposition to equality shouted 'Communism.'"

In the halls of the Gammon Theological Seminary, where the



James Forman

Conference was held, discussions could be overheard on the problem of recruiting SNCC staffers from Southern campuses while making it possible for those who were now donating time to return to school; about the tour Dick Gregory and the Freedom Singers will make to raise money for the Summer Project; the planned "intervention" by the Quebec-Washington-Guantanamo peace marchers in Jacksonville, Fla., by a walk through that tense town; and the fact that national civil-rights news was not available in the Deep South because even such magazines as *Newsweek* and *Time* are taken off the stands when they have articles on the Negro struggle.

Often the superbly talented voices of SNCC's own Freedom Singers would lead a couple hundred people in the battle hymns and anthems of the struggle, and then would introduce a new song inspired by the events of the recent months. One such number, "Oginga Odinga," recalled — with an African beat — the Toddle House demonstration in Atlanta, where a Kenyan diplomat by that name observed SNCC staffers being refused service. The song tied in such divergent elements as Jomo Kenyatta and Selma, Ga., and immediately became very popular.

Dr. Vivien Henderson, who worked with civil-rights demonstrators as far back as 1960 in

Nashville, Tennessee, discussed the direction of economic trends as they affect the Negro people today.

In the post war boom, he said, "there was much hope for the Negro as a group . . . But about 1954-55, everything the Negro had gained was gone." The technological onslaught hit the economy in the mid-fifties. The economic position of black Americans, he explained, has deteriorated ever since. Routine jobs have been displaced in the labor market. "New entrants must compete with machines which have at least a high-school education."

Albany, Ga., SNCC worker Charles Sherrod spoke up during the discussion. "I think President Johnson's War on Poverty is a lot of hogwash." "Not a lot," replied Henderson. "It's only \$900 million worth." He pointed out that the federal government would have to spend \$30 or \$40 billion to close the jobs gap and noted that, under the Employment Act of 1946, it was so empowered.

In closing the conference, newly reelected chairman John Lewis surveyed the first four years of SNCC's participation in the freedom struggle. He affirmed that the time has come for the oppressed people in the Southland "to rise up, to eradicate the corrupt element." My people are restless, he said: "They cannot wait. They want it all, they want it now."

He warned that the black people of the South might not continue to abide by SNCC's adherence to non-violence. "They have been pushed up against a wall." The use of dogs and machine-guns against Mississippians, he said, was sure to get a reaction from northern Negroes, many of whom come from the South.

"We have a mandate deliberately to disturb," he declared. "We have a mandate to turn the Southland upside down . . . We want to subvert the Southern 'way of life.' But the overthrow must be non-violent . . ."

Lewis indicated SNCC's support for nonviolent strategy of mass social dislocation. And he emphasized, "liberals cannot speak for the Negro masses."

He spoke of how in the movement, "a large number of us have grown up overnight." Integration, he said is only real thus far "inside the revolution itself."

The revolution is the hope of the country, which is terribly compromised morally, he said. This country, he declared, "must face the fact that it has enslaved the African, massacred the Indian, [and] reduced Latin America to a colony," he declared. He also denounced the atom bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki as a crime.

... HUAC in Buffalo

(Continued from Page 1)

ed by the racist of Louisiana, Congressman Edwin Willis, can only be interpreted as an attempt on the part of the power structure to stem the participation of people of good will in Buffalo in these efforts to make the town a better place to live.

A demonstration is planned against the committee at the Federal Court House, Niagara Square. When the inquisitors appear in town. A statement issued by Ed Wolkenstein and G. Alexander, editors of a pro-integration newsletter here declares: "The committee will yell 'red' a thousand times against the subpoenaed witnesses. Undoubtedly the voice of big business channeled through the *Buffalo Evening News* and *Courier Express*, the flunkies in the trade unions, the conformers of the Negro community, will take up the cry of 'red' — but the overwhelming majority of the Negro and white people will not be deceived. They will know that white big business is trying to prevent these movements from achieving their goals."

Concessions by School Board Avert Boycott in Little Rock

LITTLE ROCK, ARK. — Negro leaders here have "indefinitely postponed" the first Southern anti-segregation school boycott set for April 6.

The boycott was halted when the Little Rock School Board conceded with a five-point agreement, April 3.

The boycott had been called by

the Council on Community Affairs and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) to protest "tokenism" in school desegregation here.

According to spokesmen for the Council, the boycott was called off "pending the fulfillment of the Board's statement."

Among the agreements reached by the Board's majority vote was the promise that all pupils in a given school would be eligible for activities and organizations without racial qualifications and that applicants for "central administrative" positions would be selected without regard to race. The Board also agreed to recruit Negroes for vacancies in administrative positions. "All phases of instruction" in Little Rock vocational schools will be conducted on a desegregated basis, the Board said.

Spokesmen for the Council and SNCC maintain the boycott may be recalled if the agreements are not implemented.

Fewer than two per cent of Little Rock's Negro public school pupils now attend classes with white children. The school system was first integrated by court order and troops in 1957.



Gov. Faubus

His boys had to yield

REVIEWS and REPORTS

THE FUTURE OF RUSSIA by Harry Braverman. New York: Macmillan, 1963, 275 pp., \$5.

This study of the Soviet Union seeks to counteract lies and distortions by commentators and propagandists in the capitalist world and official myths and exaggerations by the Soviet bureaucracy. On the whole it succeeds in doing this; it presents objectively and lucidly a great many facts about the structure, trends, potential and contradictions in the society that evolved — and is still evolving — out of the Russian Revolution and the subsequent Stalinist degeneration.

The weakest part of the book is the one dealing with the political future of the Soviet Union. Braverman thinks there may be "some form of democratic development in Soviet society during the next few decades" and speculates about various ways in which this may come about. But he does not consider, he does not even mention, the possibility of the Soviet workers making a political revolution that will restore the workers' democracy that existed at the start of the Russian revolution while retaining and strengthening planning and nationalized property. In this respect he lags behind Isaac Deutscher, by whom he is greatly influenced; Deutscher at least discusses this possibility even though he thinks it is less likely than self-reform by the Soviet bureaucracy.

Braverman was at one time a writer for *The Militant*, and a good one. In those days he was not afraid to acknowledge Marxists as the source for some of his ideas. Now he is writing about the field where Leon Trotsky was the pioneer and it is clear that he is indebted to Trotsky, sometimes in a diluted or negative way. But while he quotes scores and scores of writers, the only mention of Trotsky in the whole book is as the subject of a biography by Deutscher. Is Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet Union, right or wrong, really less relevant to the subject of this book than those of many specialists quoted, most of whom are anti-Marxist? Or is this a way of demonstrating non-dogmatism?

When Braverman was writing for this paper, he sometimes said that such-and-such will happen, sometimes even that such-and-such must happen. In his present book, most of his conclusions are couched in the form of such-and-such may happen. This too will shield him against charges of dogmatism, but it may not be any improvement. Despite this, it is a useful book for people beginning to study the Soviet Union and a helpful antidote to the kind of baloney the CIA recently issued about the Soviet economy.—G.B.

THE QUEST FOR THE DREAM by John P. Roche. New York: Macmillan, 1963, 308 pp., \$5.95.

Suppose that Pangloss was transferred from Voltaire's time to our own and from Westphalia to the United States; suppose that instead of being a tutor to Candide and others in Baron Thunder-ten-Tronck's castle he was Morris Hillquit, Professor of Labor and Social Thought and chairman of the Department of Politics at Brandeis University; suppose that instead of teaching metaphysico-cosmological nology, he taught liberalism and so well that he became national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action; and suppose finally that he was asked to write a book about the development of civil liberties and

civil rights during the last half-century: The result would be something like this book by John P. (angloss?). Roche.

Roche's thesis is not that this is the best of all possible worlds; as a liberal he holds that this world can become even better if we elect more liberal Democrats. He does not even contend that this is a good world — only that it is getting better all the time. This he seeks to demonstrate by comparing the state of civil liberties and civil rights in 1913 with that of 1963 and reviewing their development in between. He does not suppress the facts; he lists most of the violations, and deplores them all; but he distorts their relative significance.

Recounting the repressions of liberty in World War I and in World War II, Roche comes to the conclusion that they were fewer in the latter and acclaims "the degree to which American democracy had come of age in barely more than a generation." He entirely disregards the fact that the opposition to World War I was greater than that to World War II and that therefore the need of repression in order to conduct the war was different.

Roche tells the story of the witch hunt during and after World War I and of McCarthyism after World War II, and again finds progress: The "McCarthy episode" was disgraceful, but "it is clear that the Yahoos failed to make a real dent. Despite all the sound and fury, the viciousness and random scurrility, McCarthyism did not fundamentally alter the power structure of American society," etc. But the 1917-19 witch hunt didn't fundamentally alter the power structure either. They both made real dents, however, and the McCarthyite dent went deeper in deterring people from using their democratic liberties, and its effects have lasted longer.

His treatment of the current Negro upsurge is standard liberal stuff. Progress has been "substantial," full equality is in sight, "perhaps in another generation," and so on. The main emphasis in this treatment is not on the struggle of the Negroes and the changes in their consciousness, demands and methods, which is so far the chief area where real progress has occurred, but on the increasingly successful "quest" for the American dream on the part of the capitalist politicians, the government, the nation, the whites, who, according to Roche, have finally accepted "the full implications" of the democratic principles they have so long professed.

This book is subtitled "The Development of Civil Rights and Human Relations in Modern America," but it isn't an accurate picture of that. A better subtitle would have been "A Liberal Rationalization of Injustice in Modern America Designed to Bolster Gradualism and Promote Optimism."

P.S. An apology is due Pangloss. He would never have written such vile stuff about the Wobblies. — G.B.

In a coming issue we will discuss *The Triple Revolution*, a program for peace, economic security and civil rights presented to President Johnson and Congressional leaders by the Ad Hoc Committee on the Triple Revolution, a group of economists, labor leaders, journalists, and others. While they last, copies of *The Triple Revolution* may be obtained from Maurer, Fleisher, Zon and Associates, 1120 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C.

Citizens Committee To Probe Facts in Killing of President

NEW YORK, April 1 — The formation of a committee to conduct an independent investigation into the events surrounding the assassination of President Kennedy was announced today.

Mark Lane, former member of the New York State Assembly, will function as the chairman of the newly formed "Citizens' Committee of Inquiry." Among those who will serve as initiating members of the organization still in formation are Sterling Hayden, actor and author, Jessica Mitford, author of the best-selling book *The American Way of Death*, Arthur Groce, constitutional attorney and Chairman of the Northern California Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, and Theodore Mann, producer and attorney.

Lane, who had been retained by Marguerite Oswald as counsel for her deceased son before the Warren Commission, stated that his work as Lee Oswald's attorney was completed and that his future association with the case would not be in an attorney-client capacity but rather through the independent Citizens' Committee. In a letter to Lane today Marguerite Oswald said: "I consider your work finished and hereby terminate your representation." She praised his work in the case.

The first objective of the Citizens' Committee, Lane stated, will be to "send experienced investigators, including trained newspaper reporters, into the Dallas area to check out the more than 200 different leads that have already come to our attention."

The Committee will function nationally from offices located in New York City at 156 5th Avenue.

A Valuable Booklet Some Myths About Welfare Refuted

BALTIMORE — The Maryland State Conference of Social Welfare has recently put out a booklet containing statistics which refute many of the myths that have arisen about the public welfare system.

One of the myths is that welfare rolls are being constantly swelled by people who are too lazy to work. Statistics show that in the past ten years the amount of money allocated for welfare in Maryland has remained almost constant. Ninety-nine per cent of those on welfare are unemployed: children, old people, disabled people or those who must stay home to look after children or disabled members of their family.

The booklet takes up three of the most frequent arguments of the racists and the ultra-right about illegitimate children: 1) most illegitimate children end up on welfare rolls; 2) women on relief have more illegitimate children to get more money; and 3) illegitimate children should be taken from their mothers.

The statistics show that 83 per cent of children born out of wedlock in Maryland are supported not by welfare but by parents or relatives. This is true even though equal services are not available to non-white mothers while services for all unmarried mothers are few and far between. Facilities available to non-whites are in many respects non-existent.

As for women on relief having more children to get more money, the statistics should quickly dispel that belief. In Maryland a mother with one child receives a total payment of \$26.31 a week to cover food, clothing, personal care, utilities, and household supplies. If a second child is born the mother receives an additional 77 cents

a day and even less than that for a third child. Having illegitimate children does not appear to be a very lucrative scheme.

The booklet comes out strongly against removal of children from their unwed mothers, stating that the same standards should apply as in other cases of removal of children from their mothers.

Pentagon Survey Finds Base-Area Bias Rampant

The Pentagon has released a survey showing that in 90 per cent of the communities adjacent to military installations, both in the North and the South, discrimination in housing is practiced against Negro servicemen seeking homes.

Secretary of Defense Robert S. McNamara has stated that such discrimination affects military efficiency, and this is presumably why the questionnaire on bias near military camps was circulated to base commanders. The survey shows that Negro servicemen often have to live as far as 28 miles from the base if they wish to find decent accommodations for their families. In rare cases they can find housing nearer to the base if they pay more than whites. But there are cases where no housing can be found under any circumstances.

Housing discrimination was only one of the aspects covered in the questionnaire, which showed that discrimination was the same against Negroes, whether in military uniform or not. However, housing was the most "unyielding" problem. It was also pointed out that the pattern of bias does not vary much North, South, East or West.

... 2,000 Hear Malcolm X in Cleveland

(Continued from Page 1)

ganizational divisions, personal jealousies, and unite for action on their common problems; political oppression, economic exploitation and social degradation at the hands of white men.

"I am not anti-white," he said, "I am anti-exploitation, anti-oppression."

"You are not faced with a segregationist conspiracy, we are faced with a government conspiracy . . . to deprive you of your voting rights, housing rights, job rights . . . The government itself is responsible for the exploitation."

"Where do we go from here? — We need new friends. We need new allies. We need a new interpretation of the civil rights struggle to include the black nationalists. We have to tell the handkerchief heads and the compromisers we don't intend to let them dilly-dally any longer!"

Malcolm X projected a black nationalist convention by August, with delegates from all over the country, followed by seminars and meetings to decide what course to take. "If it's necessary to form a black nationalist party, we'll form a black nationalist party. If it's necessary to form a black nationalist army, we'll form a black nationalist army."

Lomax took the Supreme Court decision against segregated schools in 1954 as his point of reference for gauging the claims of progress in the Negro struggle, and rejected the claims. After ten years "only 9.8 per cent of the Negro kids in the Deep South are in integrated schools," he said. There are almost twice as many predominantly Negro — segregated — schools in Cleveland now, three times as many in Washington, D.C., five times as many in New York City as in 1954.

The only gains, he said, have been "a few hamburgers, a few

restrooms . . . That's where we are in 1964."

"Now the objective of the Negro Revolt is to provide for the Negro individual the same rights, the same freedoms and the same opportunities as anyone else in America."

The first emphasis, Lomax stated, must be on jobs, economic equality. Non-violence, he said, can be a "tactical maneuver, an effective one on a mass basis. This can be debated. But for any tactics to get results, we must quit fighting one another and pull together."

Ruth Turner, executive secretary of Cleveland CORE, led a torchlight parade of 300 persons from the enthusiastic audience to a construction site where school segregation was symbolically "buried" in a coffin carried by black pallbearers.

She announced plans to start picketing the building project the following Monday.

By David Herman

NEW YORK, April 6 — Unity of action to win freedom, justice and equality for the black people in America is the aim of the new Sunday night Black Nationalist rallies, declared Malcolm X at the third such rally, held here last night.

The enemy keeps us divided and uses one section of the Negro people against the other, he said. The divisions are not over the aims but over the method of achieving victory, he continued. The white man has tricked us into thinking we want to be integrationists or separatists; but those are not goals, but roads to the same goal of freedom, justice and equality, he said.

He explained that the black nationalists must join the integrationists in their struggles, go along with them, in order to point out to the integrationists that they

were headed in the wrong direction.

Malcolm X charged that newspapers covering the rallies have been distorting the facts about them. An exception to this, he added, is *The Militant*. He said that *The Militant* told the truth about black nationalism and that its reports of the rallies have kept the facts straight.

He made a slashing attack on the Administration and the Democratic party. "This is a government of segregationists," he said. Of the 16 Senatorial committees that govern this country ten have Southerners as chairmen. "When you vote for a Democrat you're voting for the Dixiecrats!" he declared.

Les Edmonds, spokesman for the Freedom Now Party in Queens, opened the rally with a brief report on the events he had recently witnessed in Jacksonville, Florida and other parts of the South.

He described the very militant and effective struggle of the black community in Jacksonville. A boycott had been organized which emptied the streets of downtown Jacksonville before the Easter holiday. Self-defense had been practiced and as a result the police had been afraid to shoot Negroes, he said.

The Sunday night meetings will continue to be held at the Audubon Ballroom at 166th St. and Broadway at 8 p.m. Further information about the black nationalist movement can be obtained from: The Muslim Mosque, Inc., Hotel Theresa, 2090 Seventh Ave., New York, N.Y.

... We expect old men to be conservative but when a nation's young men are so, its funeral bell is already rung.

Henry Ward Beecher
American clergyman.
(1813-1887)

THE MILITANT

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Monday, April 13, 1964

Curran Makes a Good Point

The leaders of the AFL-CIO unions have been generally silent about the dangers to the entire labor movement in the federal conviction last month of Teamster President James R. Hoffa. At last, however, one member of the AFL-CIO executive board, National Maritime Union President Joseph Curran has publicly denounced the conviction. In last week's issue of the *NMU Pilot*, Curran pointed out:

"When the objective of the nation's top law enforcement agency is to get one man without regard to what they get him for, that, I submit, is not law enforcement, it is persecution. It is what Hoffa himself has called it, a vendetta."

This is not a mere personal vendetta aimed solely at Hoffa. It is a part of a concerted attack begun in 1957 with the aim of smearing and weakening the Teamsters Union and the entire labor movement. Attorney General Kennedy got his conviction after seven years of an unprecedented series of attempts and after going so far as to set up a special unit in the Justice Department to "investigate" and prosecute Teamster Union officials.

The leaders of the AFL-CIO unions would be no less vulnerable to such a concerted attack by a Justice Department out to spend any amount of money and government time to "get" them on any pretext it could trump up.

Curran urges "that the leadership of the AFL-CIO immediately declare its full support to the International Brotherhood of Teamsters against any efforts to raid or divide that union. We owe it not only to the members of that union, but to our own members, to make that position clear. The people behind this drive against the Teamsters and the labor movement have no intention of stopping with the conviction of James Hoffa. Their target is the labor movement."

Curran's statement is quite correct. It is disgraceful that similar statements have not come from more powerfully-placed leaders of the AFL-CIO.

Why Not an Effective Alliance?

A resolution passed at the United Auto Workers convention last month contained a part of a good idea when it urged those groups who joined together in the March on Washington to come together in a national conference to chart a program for fighting a war on poverty and a war on Jim Crow. "These two struggles," it noted, "must be joined for neither can truly be won except as they are waged together."

The suggestion was based on the correct conclusion that none of the labor, civil rights, or other groups have the resources, the manpower, or the influence to take on the task of organizing the unemployed, the under-employed and the underprivileged by itself.

From the horse's mouth of one of the largest labor unions comes the admission that the problem of poverty is so substantial that nothing short of a national coalition open to all concerned groups and reflecting their demands can begin to meet it.

One simple, sensible step farther is indicated. Why should the laborers, the Negroes, the unemployed, the aged, and the youth have to go any longer without a political expression for their needs?

If the union leadership is sincere about the fight for an end to racial discrimination; if the integrationist groups are serious in the fight for jobs; and if the other groups that supported the March on Washington mean business in supporting the cry for jobs and freedom — then they should form a political alliance and a new party, a labor party, which would put real power behind these demands. Otherwise, the proposed national conference will mean very little, because the demands will be buried in the obstruction and hypocritical promises of the Democratic and Republican parties which are unalterably controlled by the big businessmen and Southern racists who profit from poverty and discrimination.

Local Directory

BOSTON. Boston Labor Forum, 295 Huntington Ave., Room 200.

CHICAGO. Socialist Workers Party and bookstore, 302 South Canal St., Room 210. WE 9-5044.

CLEVELAND. Eugene V. Debs Hall, Room 23, 5927 Euclid Ave., Cleveland 3, Ohio.

DENVER. Militant Labor Forum, Telephone 222-4174.

DETROIT. Eugene V. Debs Hall, 3737 Woodward. TEmple 1-6135.

LOS ANGELES. Socialist Workers Party, 1702 East Fourth St. AN 9-4953 or WE 5-9238. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. daily and Saturday.

MILWAUKEE. 150 E. Juneau Ave.

MINNEAPOLIS. Socialist Workers Party and Labor Book Store, 704 Hennepin Ave., Hall 240. FEderal 2-7781. Open 1 to 5 p.m., Monday through Friday, Saturday, 11 a.m.-5 p.m.

NEWARK. Newark Labor Forum, Box 361, Newark, New Jersey.

NEW YORK CITY. Militant Labor Forum, 116 University Place. AL 5-7852.

OAKLAND-BERKELEY. Socialist Workers Party and Militant Labor Forum: 592 Lake Park Ave., Oakland. Phone 444-8012. Marxist literature available: write to Labor Book Shop at above address.

PHILADELPHIA. Militant Labor Forum P.O. Box 8412.

ST. LOUIS. Phone Main 1-2669. Ask for Dick Clarke.

SAN DIEGO. San Diego Labor Forum, P.O. Box 1581, San Diego 12, Calif. For labor and socialist books, Sign of the Sun Books, 4705 College Ave.

SEATTLE. 3815 5th N.E. Library, bookstore. Open 12 noon to 5 p.m. Saturdays. Phone ME 2-7449.

...The Brazilian Birchers' Coup

(Continued from Page 1)

March 18 to have said the U.S. should abandon the much ballyhooed Kennedy policy of "discouraging" rightwing military coups in Latin America by withholding recognition — temporarily — of the regimes these coups put in power.

Mann's statement could only be interpreted as a go-ahead signal to the Brazilian oligarchy which was itching to clamp a dictatorship on the masses of the people.

Brazil is a country in deep economic and social crisis. Inflation boosted prices by 75 per cent in 1963 and has raised them by an even faster rate this year. A business crisis is looming and unemployment is increasing. Like most Latin American countries, Brazil has been controlled by an oligarchy composed of feudal-type large land owners, financiers and the military elite drawn from the sons of the landowners. Some 75 per cent of the cultivated land is owned by eight per cent of the landowners.

In the Northeast, where the pro-Cuban socialist Francisco Juliao has organized the Peasant Leagues, which have been demanding land reform, conditions are almost beyond description. Peasants still work under the feudal corvee, a system of forced labor. When they get wages, a day's pay won't buy a quarter pound of flour. The infant mortality rate is 242 per thousand and one third of the population of the area has tuberculosis.

Juliao in Havana

Last Feb. 21, Juliao, speaking in Havana while on a visit there, declared that a "pre-revolutionary situation had opened in Brazil because of the worsening situation in the country.

The depth of the mood is indicated by two events just prior to the coup d'etat. On March 13, a trade-union sponsored rally of 200,000 was held in Rio de Janeiro which was described by newsmen as "the most imposing mass demonstration ever held in Brazil up to now."

Goulart spoke at the rally and announced a decree expropriating all privately-held uncultivated land on a six-mile strip lining the country's highways, railways and waterways. This was to be distributed to landless peasants. Only an estimated 2.8 per cent of private holdings were affected by this, but the announcement produced open defiance and threats of violence by big landholders all over Brazil.

Oligarchy Controls

At the same workers rally, Goulart's brother-in-law, Lionel Brizzola, pointed out that the oligarchy-controlled congress had blocked all attempts at reforms. He proposed constitutional changes to cope with this and to give the vote to illiterates — who are a majority of adults in the country. It is these proposals that the generals denounced as a "Communist plot to overthrow constitutional government."

On March 25 some 3,000 members of a sailors' and marines recreational club met at a union headquarters in Rio and heard a



OUT OF FAVOR. Joao Goulart (left) chats with AFL-CIO President George Meany at White House luncheon during days when Goulart was still in Washington's good graces.

speech by their chairman, Jose Anselmo Santos. Anselmo, a 25-year-old rifleman from the northeast region where the Peasant Leagues are active, called on his comrades to stand with the workers, peasants and students in their struggle for the structural changes required to carry out the land reform and other measures.

The naval authorities responded by arresting some of the sailors and marines and this caused a 72-hour demonstration by some 1500 of their comrades at the trade-union headquarters. In reporting this event, *World Outlook*, a Paris-based labor press service, commented: "The incident served to point up the growing polarization of forces in Brazil. The marines in their way sought to encourage President Goulart to go ahead with the program of far-reaching reforms which he had recently espoused. Top Army and Navy circles were trying to pull the hesitant Goulart in the opposite direction."

The simple truth is that Goulart was overthrown because the Brazilian oligarchy and the U.S. Government decided that he could not or would not contain and crush this revolutionary movement for reforms. On the other hand, Goulart would not organize the workers and peasants for the all-out revolutionary struggle with the oligarchy and its military, which is necessary to accomplish such reforms.

These Brazilian events are another confirmation of the correctness of the Cuban road to progress in Latin America. The choice is either revolution based on the armed and aroused workers, peasants and students, or the attempts by the oligarchies backed by the U.S. State Department and big business interests to turn history around.

Which Road?

It was just about a year ago that peasant leader Juliao, who has not been heard of since the coup, made a speech while in Havana in which he advocated the revolutionary road. A few days later, Luis Carlos Prestes, the head of the traditional Communist Party of Brazil, who was also on a visit to Havana, took issue with Juliao's line. In an interview published in the Havana newspaper *Hoy* March 9, 1963, Prestes rejected the perspective of a revolutionary struggle in Brazil, arguing that this would isolate the Communists and lead to the Brazilian government breaking diplomatic relations with Cuba. His party placed its faith in the liberal regime of Goulart to lead the reform movement and rejected the road of independent organization of the masses for revolutionary struggle.

This false line proved costly. The workers and peasants of Brazil have suffered a serious setback. But their struggle for a de-

cent life is not going to be crushed by fiat.

Their movement is still a force to be reckoned with, and in spite of the lies spewed out by the U.S. press, the right-wing coup d'etat was not popular in Brazil. The popular sentiment is evidenced by this Washington dispatch in the April 5 *New York Times*: "Many diplomats felt that President Johnson and Secretary of State Dean Rusk may have embarrassed the new Brazilian regime by exaggerated praise of the coup. They said that Mr. Rusk's remark yesterday that he hoped that Brazil would now take a lead in action against Cuba might have an opposite effect... The point was made that the new regime has a delicate problem of calming the pro-Goulart forces."

... Vietnam War

(Continued from Page 1)

because, in fact, they are facing a military debacle in South Vietnam. This basic fact was emphasized in a declaration issued March 16 by the United Secretariat of the Fourth International.

Warning against the danger still remaining "that U.S. intervention in South Vietnam can 'escalate' at any time" — which would almost surely bring in China and the Soviet Union — the declaration pointed out that "in the same region where imperialist France suffered a historic defeat a decade ago [at Dienbienphu], the still mightier power of imperialist America now faces a still more spectacular catastrophe at the hands of an insurgent people seeking national liberation and socialism."

The struggle of the Vietnamese people, the declaration said, is a stirring example of the power of the colonial revolution, as were the liberation struggles of the Chinese, Cubans and Algerians. The oppressed and impoverished Vietnamese are seizing weapons brought to keep them down and turning them against their would-be conquerors.

Inside the United States, the declaration predicted, large sections of the population — particularly among the workers, farmers and minorities — will speak out against the insane policy of plunging American forces into foreign adventures. These forces will be spurred on by the recollection of the bitter experience of the Korean war and of the successful movement to bring the GI's home at the end of World War II.

The declaration concluded with the conviction that all the world will support those Americans who raise the most realistic demands to end this situation: Hands off Vietnam! Let the Vietnamese people determine their own fate! Get the U.S. troops out of Vietnam!



Carlos Prestes

Indiana Rightists Still Trying To Smear 3 Young Socialists

By George Saunders

The key question of academic freedom continues to concern public opinion in Indiana in the wake of the trial-level court ruling which found the state's reactionary "anti-Communist" law unconstitutional. In accordance with that ruling, Ralph Levitt, James Bingham and Tom Morgan — students at Indiana University and officers of the campus Young Socialist Alliance — were discharged and indictments against them for alleged sedition were thrown out.

The student defendants had contended throughout that academic freedom, the free expression of all ideas on campus, was the real issue in the case. Now, the Indiana press, in comments both pro and con, is indicating that this indeed was the issue.

The first paper in Bloomington — seat of Indiana University — to acknowledge this was the weekly *Star-Courier*. In an editorial March 26 it stated: "The unfriendly climate created by the prosecutor's action became a bold challenge to the whole concept of academic freedom."

The *Star-Courier* commended "the posture of academic freedom, maintained by Indiana University...[which] was vindicated by Judge Hill's decision." (Judge Nat U. Hill was the trial court judge.) "The position of the university," the paper wrote, "was that YSA was just another of the type of organizations that spring up on college campuses, where exposure of the student body to varied political philosophies is the rule."

The *Indianapolis Star*, influential Goldwaterite paper in the state capital, also felt that academic freedom was "the real crux of the matter" — but from the point of view that there was too much freedom.

"Can a university properly lend itself as a sounding board for propaganda?" asked the *Star* and answered itself "No."

"That is the question that has not been answered at Indiana University about the Young Socialist Alliance," it went on, adding, "A court decision on a relatively narrow legal issue will not



Paulann Groninger
Sec'y CABS

provide the answer either." (My emphasis. G.S.)

Thus, the *Star* threatens a continued right wing and press campaign against the YSA even if witch-hunting prosecutor Hoadley's appeal to the state supreme court fails.

With vicious insinuation, the *Star* asked, "Were the three 'Bloomington students' really students?" Naming no names, the *Star* charged that "at least one of the three is a political protagonist," — whatever that means.

It declared that "men in their mid-twenties with fixed opinions hardly can be classified as 'students.'" Of course, what the *Star* meant was young men with fixed socialist opinions. The "socialist concept," said the *Star* — with the rightists' typical falsification of the democratic essence of socialism — is "an economy and society planned by the few."

The question of the right of student supporters of the Young Socialist Alliance to use university facilities, as other student groups do, was one of the main issues behind Hoadley's indictment of the YSA officers. Right-wing student groups on campus and the right-wing Indiana press had long campaigned against campus recognition of the socialist group. Nevertheless, in December, 1962 the university granted recognition.

A month later Hoadley began his witch hunt. "The important thing in this case," he told the press, "is to get this organization off the campus." He also said, "I would have preferred the university to do this rather than have to proceed in court."

Now Hoadley has lost in court, but the ultra-right forces who supported the aims of his witch hunt, are once more applying pressures to restrict freedom of speech at Indiana University.

It is to carry on the fight for the right to hear, discuss and advocate all ideas freely, that the Committee to Aid the Bloomington Students is continuing its activities. Prosecutor Hoadley's appeal must be fought in the court and before public opinion to ensure the final defeat of Indiana's thought-control law, as a step toward ending thought control in Indiana and the U.S. at large.

CABS has requested its supporters to continue sending contributions to back this fight and help clear out the back debt of some \$3,000 incurred by legal costs thus far. The address is CABS, P.O. Box 213, Cooper Station, New York, N.Y., 10003.

The field of politics always presents the same struggle. There are the Right and the Left, and the middle is the Swamp. The Swamp is made up of know-nothings, of them who are without ideas, of them who are always with the majority.

August Bebel, German socialist. (1840-1913)

Ed Gurske Dies in Los Angeles

LOS ANGELES — Edward Gurske, veteran unionist and socialist, died here suddenly on April 3.

He died of drowning in a gymnasium swimming pool. He was 56.

A founding member of the Socialist Workers Party, he joined the Trotskyist movement in 1936. In that same year he played a leading role in the founding of General Motors Local 216 of the United Auto Workers and was continuously active in the union from then until his death.

The Socialist Workers Party will hold a memorial meeting for him Wed., April 15, 8 p.m. at Forum Hall, 1702 East 4th St.

His union, Local 216, UAW, will hold a memorial meeting at the union hall, 2809 Tweedy Blvd., South Gate, on Sunday April 12 at 2 p.m.

Our next issue will carry a full obituary of this working class leader.

Maurice Paul Wins Deportation Fight; Gov't Drops Case

NEW YORK, April 5 — The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born today announced that the Trade Union Committee for Defense of Maurice Paul has won its fight to prevent the deportation of this veteran trade unionist. On Dec. 27, the Board of Immigration Appeals decided that the deportation order be withdrawn, and the proceedings terminated unless the Immigration & Naturalization Service of the Justice Department moved for reopening of the proceedings within 90 days. The Service having failed to do so, this case has ended in victory.

Legal Issue

Mrs. Blanch Freedman, attorney for Mr. Paul, appeared before the BIA on October 4. She argued that the government did not establish the kind of meaningful membership that is required under the Gastelum-Quinones Supreme Court decision of June, 1963.

The Immigration Service instituted deportation proceedings against Mr. Paul in May, 1959. Failing to obtain sufficient evidence from government informer Abraham Zide, an official of the United Furniture Workers Union, the Service obtained an adjournment, and apparently had to shop around for over three years for another witness. In November, 1962 it reopened the case, this time presenting testimony by a paid government informer, Bobby Gene Fikes, a professional witness who had previously testified against the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers' Union. The testimony of both these informers did not add up to sufficient evidence; hence the proceedings have been terminated.

Active Unionist

Maurice Paul has resided in the U.S.A. for 43 years, during nearly all of which he has been active in the trade union movement. First as organizer of the Jewish Bakers' Union, in Minneapolis; later, active in forming the upholsterers' union of that city; then in rank and file organization in the Amalgamated Clothing Workers there. Resident in New York City since 1943, he is an active member of Local 76 of the United Furniture Workers.

SCEF Seeks a Writ Against Louisiana 'Subversive' Law

NEW ORLEANS, La. — An appeal was docketed in the United States Supreme Court in the case of James A. Dombrowski and the Southern Conference Educational Fund appealing a ruling of a majority of a three-judge Federal Court refusing to hold unconstitutional the Louisiana anti-subversive statutes under which Louisiana integrationists and organizations are being prosecuted.

The SCEF, a South-wide integrationist organization, had asked the Federal Court to restrain the enforcement of these statutes which are being used to destroy the civil rights movement in Louisiana.

Under these statutes, the headquarters of SCEF and its officials and their homes were ransacked, and the officials were indicted and now face criminal prosecution with possible maximum sentences of ten years at hard labor.

Federal Circuit Judge John Minor Wisdom dissented strongly from the refusal of the majority of the federal court to grant immediate relief.

The appeal raises the most serious problems concerning the role of the federal courts in the deep South in defending the constitutional rights of integrationist organizations and their leaders.

The appeal rests on the dissenting opinion of Circuit Judge John Minor Wisdom which strongly repudiates the doctrine of states rights as a weapon of the segregationists. Wrote Judge Wisdom:

"... the crowning glory of American federalism is not States' Rights. It is the protection the United States Constitution gives to the private citizen against all wrongful governmental invasion of fundamental rights and freedoms."

"When the wrongful invasion comes from the State, and especially when the unlawful state action is locally popular or when



Southern Patriot

James Dombrowski

there is local disapproval of the requirements of federal law, federal courts must expect to bear the primary responsibility for protecting the individual."

In its appeal, SCEF challenges Louisiana laws as violations of the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution.

Circuit Judge Wisdom, in his dissent, summarized the central aspect of the case as follows:

"The distinguishing feature of this case, which the majority chooses to ignore, is the contention that the State, under the guise of combatting subversion, is in fact using and abusing its laws to punish the plaintiffs for their advocacy of civil rights for Negroes."

The appeal was filed on behalf of SCEF by Arthur Kinoy and William Kunstler of New York, and Milton E. Brenner and A. P. Tureaud of New Orleans.

SNCC Blasts Miss. Jailings; Demands Sheriff Be Arrested

GREENWOOD, Miss. — The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) has protested the arrest of 14 voter registration workers to Congressman Jamie L. Whitten (D-Miss.) and called for the arrest of public officials under the United States Criminal Code.

SNCC Chairman John Lewis cited the arrest of the 14 here March 31, 1964, outside the Leflore County Courthouse as grounds for the arrest of Police Chief Curtis Lary of Greenwood.

"These arrests constitute the latest in a long series of incidents of harassment and intimidation aimed at potential Negro voters by local officials dating back more than a year," Lewis told Whitten. Interference has "intensified," he said, since Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, a Negro, qualified to run against Whitten in the June 2 primary for the 2nd Congressional District seat.

The 14 arrested carried signs urging Negroes to register to vote. They are charged with disorderly conduct. Bond was set at \$500. All have decided to remain in jail "until the United States Department of Justice acts to secure our release and to insure that further arrests and harassments do not occur."

SNCC charges that the recent arrests constitute "criminal" violations of Title 18, Section 594 of the United States Code.

Lewis told reporters at an Atlanta, Ga. press conference it was "time for President Johnson and Attorney General Kennedy to enforce statutes which make interference in voter registration activity a federal crime."

Voter registration workers, joined by local citizens and ministers from the National Council of Churches, have been picketing the Leflore County Courthouse since a March 25 "Freedom Day." On March 30, Chief Lary told pickets they would not be allowed to picket anywhere except the west side of the building.

On March 31, pickets returned to the front of the courthouse and were arrested. Those in jail now are: Willie Peacock, 26, Charleston, Mississippi and Dick Frey, 21, Phoenixville, Pennsylvania, leaders of the vote drive; Dorothy Higgins, 18; Flora George, 18; Laura George, 21; Will Henry Rogers, 17; Fred Harris, 17; Matthew Hughes, 20; Alberta Stuart, 26; and Willis Wright, 23, all of Greenwood; James Brown, 21, of Ita Bena; Robert Bass, 21, Jackson; Alvin Packard, 18, Hattiesburg; and Tony Gaenslen, 22, Philadelphia. Frey and Gaenslen are white; the others are Negroes.

Lewis called for protests across the country "so Mississippi Negroes can vote for a president next November." According to government figures, there are 425,000 Negroes eligible to vote in Mississippi, but only 25,000 are registered voters.

From time immemorial it has been repeated, with hypocrisy, that men are equal; and from time immemorial the most degrading and the most monstrous inequality ceaselessly weighs on the human race.

Francois Emile (Gracchus) Babeuf, French revolutionist (1760-1797)

Afro-American Parley Called in Nashville

A National Afro-American Student Conference on Black Nationalism has been called for May 1-3 in Nashville, Tenn. The conference is sponsored by the Afro-American Student Movement, a student group located at Fisk University whose members have been active in the civil rights struggle and who "seek through black nationalism a solution and victory for the black revolution."

The theme of the conference will be "Afro-American Youth, the Vanguard of a New World." Representatives from freedom struggles in Africa as well as America are expected to attend. The call describes the aim of the conference as "sober discussion and laying the groundwork for the permanent alliance and organization of Afro-American and African youth."

Planned workshop discussions include the evaluation of the present civil rights movement, Pan Africanism, the role of black nationalism and a workshop designed "to explore the social theories and concepts that are relevant to the Afro-American struggle, such as capitalism, socialism, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, non-violence, self defense, organized violence, etc." Discussion "will include the Afro-American student's relationship with liberation struggles of Asia, Africa and Latin America."

Information on the conference may be obtained by writing to ASM, Box 254, University Hall, Fisk University, Nashville, Tenn.

Union Brass Talks 'Tough'

Dodging Jobless Problem

By Everett E. Luoma

Socialist Workers Party Candidate
For U.S. Senator from Minnesota

As unemployment increases, it becomes more and more difficult for the labor lieutenants of capitalism to serve their masters. The union officials generally must present an air of militancy when making their demands so that the members will believe that the leaders are acting in their interest. A major difficulty is that many of the militantly-espoused demands are patterned after the approach of John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers. This policy is to permit the industry to lay off as many workers as it desires but insist that the workers remaining be paid relatively high wages. The present poverty in the Appalachian coal fields is the result, because there is no effort nor apparent desire on behalf of the UMW leadership to fight for those laid off.

Walter Reuther and the United Auto Workers leadership are examples of a similar policy. Their basic demands this year are improvements in working conditions and a closer link between the wages of the workers and the increase in productivity in the industry. Proposals that would really increase job security and provide work for the unemployed are discussed, but are not taken seriously. Or they are watered down to the point where they have little effect.

A proposal was presented with wide support at the recent UAW convention that would have encouraged earlier retirement. It called for allowing the workers to retire at age 60 with half pay if they have had 25 years service and three-quarters pay if they have had 30 years. Reuther refused to permit the issue to come to a vote because it had a good chance to pass in spite of his veiled opposition, and if it had passed, it would have tied him down in negotiations to a plan which would require a serious fight with the industry — because it would cut into industry profits.

The UAW officialdom will apparently refuse to fight seriously for even those demands it did propose. The *Wall Street Journal* reported in early January: "Present figuring is that Mr. Reuther may have to talk as if ready to strike, but that neither he nor the companies will risk an impasse that would cause open government intervention, particularly in an election year."

The UAW tops in other words, are seen as wishing to maintain the attitude that the Democrats are their friends. The only one to gain from this attitude is the auto industry because the union is ready to give in on virtually its entire program in order not to embarrass the Democrats.

The primary method used these days for increasing profits is to increase efficiency and refuse to



Everett E. Luoma

shorten the work week to compensate for the fewer man-hours needed. Reuther has his pet proposals patterned after those of the President's Council on Aging for complying with this without causing too much resentment within the union he controls.

This is called the Gradual Retirement Plan. The intention is to have the workers substantially cut their working time once they get past 60. The proposed aims are two-fold. One is to ease the load on older workers and get them used to the idea of retirement before they quit completely. The other is that it is theoretically supposed to give more jobs and job security to younger workers.

Companies that now use this method praise it highly because it provides an easy way of eliminating workers without hiring someone in their place. The experience has been that it does not create jobs. "As long as a man's on the payroll, you don't replace him," comments one industrial relations director, whose company uses the plan. "We just get along without him — like we do when a man gets sick."

How to Implement It

One way of implementing the plan is by asking for substantially longer vacations for workers past 60, so that by the time they reach 65 they may be getting several months off each year. At the same time, when layoffs seem imminent, the older workers on the plan would theoretically be eliminated first.

Another method would be to ask a worker who has reached a certain age to share a job with another worker of the same age; each would work six months and be laid off six months of the year. The next year the worker would share a job with two others of the same age, each being laid off eight months of the year. The third year he would be retired.

This is a present proposal on the part of the UAW leadership with the guidance of the administration in Washington for cutting costs within the auto industry. When this proposal has been fully implemented, if it is, some new method must be found. Throughout, however, there may be more and more unemployed because those retired are not replaced. The catch being that the number of retirees doesn't come near exceeding the number of jobs being eliminated by increased productivity. To open up new jobs in the face of swiftly increasing productivity, a sharp cut in the work week for the entire labor force is needed.

Meanwhile, the present plans can only breed greater resentment and insecurity among those workers — the Negroes, young people, women, etc. — who tend to be the first excluded from the shrinking number of jobs.

Folk Song Concert
In New York Will
Feature Van Ronk

NEW YORK — Dave Van Ronk, who is winning steadily increased popularity in folk music circles, will be the featured artist at a folk concert to be presented by the Militant Labor Forum on Saturday evening, April 18, at 116 University Place.

In addition to Van Ronk, the program will feature Alix Dobkin, Barry Kornfeld and Thadd Beebe.

A folk blues singer, Van Ronk has appeared at many local clubs and in Carnegie Hall concerts. Now recording for Mercury and Prestige records, he was described by *New York Times* critic Robert Shelton as possessing a "natural yet often dynamic stage presence."

Alix Dobkin is a gifted young guitarist and singer. She performs regularly at Greenwich Village clubs.

Barry Kornfeld specializes in blues and gospel songs, including many widely sung in the civil rights movement.

Thadd Beebe, a young Flamenco guitarist, was in the news last fall when he was victimized by New York Police during a civil rights demonstration.

There are a limited number of seats available for the concert which will begin promptly at 8:30 p.m.

The performance will be followed by a social evening of dancing and refreshments.

Rally Is Slated in New York
To Urge Pardon for Sobell

NEW YORK — Professor Fred Rodell of the Yale Law School, noted as an authority on the law, will address the New York Citizens' Full Pardon for Morton Sobell meeting Thursday, April 23, 8 P.M. in the Great Hall of Cooper Union at Astor Place.

Rodell, author of *Nine Men, a Political History of the Supreme Court*, and *Woe Unto You, Lawyers*, is convinced that Morton Sobell, now in his fourteenth year of imprisonment, is an innocent man unjustly convicted of "conspiracy to commit espionage" in the Rosenberg-Sobell trial of 1951.

Also speaking and similarly convinced of Sobell's innocence is writer Barrows Dunham, author of *Heroes and Heretics* and *Man Against Myth*.

The Committee to Secure Justice for Morton Sobell, sponsor of the meeting, reports that more than 1,500 persons have signed a new petition stating their belief in Sobell's innocence.

The petition grants Sobell a "Citizens' Full Pardon" and calls upon the United States government to make this an official act. Presentation of a public pardon will be made at the meeting on behalf of New Yorkers convinced Sobell is innocent. Accepting in Sobell's behalf will be his mother, Rose Sobell, and his wife, Helen Sobell.

Among other eminent persons who have stated belief in Sobell's innocence are Dr. Harold C. Urey,



Morton Sobell

Nobel prize atomic scientist, Lord Bertrand Russell of England, Dr. Martin Buber of Israel, Pablo Casals, Dr. Linus Pauling, Dr. Guenter Anders of Austria, Carleton Beals, James T. Farrell, Rabbi Philip Horowitz, Rev. Peter McCormack, Chaplain at Alcatraz, Dean Donald E. J. MacNamara, Jean-Paul Sartre of France, Prof. Malcolm Sharp of the University of Chicago Law School.

World Events

'Curtains' for Sir Alec?

An important election will take place in Great Britain April 9. On that day will be held the first elections for the newly-created Greater London Council. The existing London County Council has been dominated by the Labor Party for years. The Conservatives have now put through a gerrymandering rearrangement, enlarging the council to include "greater London"—that is all the suburban districts with their middle-class, pro-Tory vote.

The area now included in the "Greater London Council" contains one-fifth of the population of England and Wales—that is 8,500,000 people.

The way the vote goes on April 9 will have a strong impact on the political mood as Britain's general election approaches. The Tory government of Prime Minister Sir Alec Douglas-Home must submit to a general election before 1965.

The key fact is that the "Little General Election"—as the April 9 vote is being called—may well end in a Labor victory despite the Tory gerrymandering. If so, the *London Evening Standard* said on Jan. 23, "it's curtains for Sir Alec."

A Welcome Soviet Move

A collection of articles by the noted literary critic of early Soviet days, Alexandr Konstantinovich Voronsky, was recently published in the Soviet Union. In 1923 Voronsky had joined the Trotskyist opposition to Stalinism. He later capitulated to Stalin but he was nevertheless purged in 1937. He was "rehabilitated" after the denunciation of Stalin's crimes at the 20th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party. But until the publication of this book, the ideas that this prominent literary critic of the 1920s stood for were not widely available to the Soviet public.

The publication of Voronsky's work is especially significant at this time, because he, like Trotsky, was an outspoken and convincing opponent of the trend in literature which became "socialist realism"—

that monolithic, picture-poster type of art and "message" literature which flourished under Stalin and which still stifles creativity in the Soviet arts. Voronsky's work should be an aid to the young Soviet rebels fighting for artistic freedom and independent thought.

More 'Free World' Nazis

The new Minister of Refugees in the West German government is one Ernst Lemmer. He replaced Hans Krüger, who resigned recently when his past Nazi associations were exposed. The Ministry of Refugees is notorious for its neo-Nazi directors. Krüger's predecessor also resigned after being exposed as a former Nazi.

Lemmer, too, follows the pattern. It is a matter of public record that he cooperated closely with the Propaganda Ministry of the notorious Goebbels under the Nazi regime. For example, he had an article printed in the liberal Swiss paper "Berliner Bund," Nov. 5, 1936, following the wishes of the Nazi Propaganda Ministry. Pretending to be a liberal, Lemmer criticized newspapers outside Germany for protesting Nazi persecution of Jews. "The situation

of the 400,000 Jews still living in Germany," he wrote, "will certainly not be helped by such excesses on the part of irresponsible writers."

Another example was an article praising Hitler that Lemmer wrote for the Hungarian paper "Pester Lloyd" on April 20, 1939. That was one of several pro-Nazi papers, he wrote for in occupied Europe.

Solidarity Parley in Quebec

The second continental congress for the sovereignty and independence of the peoples of the Americas and for solidarity with Cuba is to be held in Montreal, Canada, next July 16-19.

Originally scheduled in Uruguay, the change was made after Michel Chartrand, leader of the Parti Socialiste du Quebec, visited Havana in January and urged it be held in Canada. The first congress was held in Brazil.

Montreal city authorities and the Canadian minister of external affairs have assured officials of the movement that delegates will be welcome and there will be no difficulties over admission to the country.

Death Penalty Upheld
For Informer in Cuba

On April 1 the Cuban Supreme Court upheld the death sentence of Marcos Rodriguez Alfonso, 26, convicted of having betrayed four young revolutionaries to Batista's police who killed all four.

The case has caused wide discussion in Cuba because of Rodriguez's membership in the Communist Party and because of the charge made, and denied, at the trial that leading Communist Party figures had been aware of his act of betrayal.

Those reports of the trial that did appear in this country were badly garbled. We have now obtained the principal facts about the trial including a lengthy speech made by Fidel Castro. We plan to publish a report on this next week.

Spring Issue

International Socialist Review

Some Features:

HOW A MINORITY CAN CHANGE SOCIETY by George Breitman. Through historical analogy and an analysis of the relationship of forces in American society, Breitman contends that the Negro minority can play a decisive role in leading a revolutionary movement for the abolition of the present social system.

MAOISM AND THE NEO-STALIN CULT by Tom Kerry. This article deals with the attempt by the Maoists and their American disciples to reconstitute the cult of Stalin in the struggle against the "revisionism" of the Kremlin. The meaning of Peking's demand for a "return to Stalin," is echoed by an American group calling itself the Progressive Labor Movement which adds its own wrinkle by projecting for the American workers a "return to Foster," until his death a leader of the U.S. Communist Party.

Send 50 cents for a copy or \$1.50 for a one-year sub to

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116 University Place
New York, N.Y., 10003

Letters From Our Readers

[This column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters under 400 words. Writers' initials will be used, names being withheld unless authorization is given for use.]

A Call to Action

New York, N. Y.

I am writing this as a Jew who is disturbed by the fact that the vast majority of Jews in New York are doing little or nothing to help the Negroes and Puerto Ricans to achieve equality.

Over the years, countless volumes have been written about mass guilt and mass conscience of

the horror that was Hitler Germany. Recently, this has been highlighted by the publishing of the book and the staging on Broadway of the play, *The Deputy*, which is about individual guilt and individual conscience.

Whatever your opinions on that situation may be, I merely want to make the comparison that we — here and now — can help an oppressed minority by standing up and being counted. We don't have the excuse that we don't know what is going on, or that we live in a dictatorship where we would be decimated by a gestapo. No, not at all! We have only to reach out to our Negro and Puerto Rican neighbors and say, truthfully, to them: "Our democracy, our freedom, our opportunity, our prosperity are all worthless unless we share them with you."

If we simply do that, we will be able to hold our heads up high and be proud of our actions. If we don't, future historians, and our children, will point to us accusingly, and say truthfully: "Why didn't you do something; why didn't you lift a finger while there was still time?" The alternative is another "Deputy" written about us ten or 20 years from now.

Successful or not, history will absolve us for having tried. But history will not absolve or excuse those who stand on the sidelines and, for whatever reasons or rationalizations (and they are manifold), say that nothing can be done; that the situation is hopeless; that the Negroes and Puerto Ricans must help themselves and not depend on others — or give a hundred and one shabby excuses for abstaining from helping in the integration movement.

The reality is that a united front of the 1,100,000 Negroes, the 750,000 Puerto Ricans and the almost 2,000,000 Jews, plus the other minorities in New York could sweep all before it.

Above all, we have the correctness of our ideas and the moral right on our side; and history is with us, not on the side of those who obstruct the historic process! R.G.

From Belgium

Brussels, Belgium

Every week here we wait impatiently for the issue of *The Militant*, which brings not only informative articles but also excellent cartoons, for instance those of the late Laura Gray. I think it is a pity that so few other socialist papers are interested in publishing good cartoons, because in my opinion, cartoons are sometimes much more realistic than photographs, especially when they show essential traits of things and people that the superficial observer doesn't usually notice.

I think that is certainly one of the reasons why you, as socialists, so often publish such cartoons. This corresponds to the genuine tasks of the socialist press, one of which is, among others, to separate illusions from reality.

Fernand Charlier

Will Walk for Peace

Barnesville, Ohio

I am a sophomore, age 16, student of Friends' Boarding School at Barnesville, Ohio, walking for peace from Pittsburgh, Pa., to Washington, D. C.

I shall walk without money. I shall not accept any money on the way, but I shall depend on goodwill and hospitality of people. People of the world want peace. Then why are all the governments

of the world spending an enormous amount (\$16,000,000 every hour) for war preparation?

People of the world want bread, not bombs. Every nine seconds one human being is dying because of starvation. Our money must be spent to wipe out the hunger from the world.

Bombs cannot defend our freedom. They will destroy the entire human race. So let us destroy bombs before they destroy us.

I believe in non-violence. Through non-violent means we can defend and extend the values of freedom we hold so dear. Policies based on non-violence can win the cold war. I want your blessings, your cooperation, and your help to work for peace.

Robert Salov

A Renewal

Lincoln, Pa.

Just a note to let you know how much I enjoy your paper. Please renew my subscription for six months. Please send me your complete reading list. Thanks.

O.F.

P.S. I am especially interested in the "Freedom Now" struggle.

The Negro Vote

Camden, N. J.

In this presidential election year, when a guy's vote counts for a little more than usual, I think Negroes and their white friends must make some down-to-earth decisions. I have decided to withhold my vote from both major parties. Not only for the presidency but on all levels.

These are my reasons. Negroes don't get anything from their government at present, so they have

nothing to lose. By withholding their vote they can perhaps defeat the Democratic candidate. The Republicans lost in 1960 because they lost the large cities. The Negro vote is very important to Democrats in large cities. The loss of the Negro vote could very well mean the election of a Republican and this could show the Democrats that they must produce.

It is well known that major parties in America have no ideology. They are merely structures used to gain election. That being the case, they can be made to support programs beneficial to Negroes when they realize that Negroes can prevent their election.

Of course, the liberals scream that this would give us Barry Goldwater and a reactionary congress, but even that wouldn't make a helluva lot of difference.

If Goldwater gained election by this technique, he would know it and would also know that he could only gain re-election by pleasing Negroes. Not even he is guided by ideology when it comes to being elected.

Negroes must vote, but not for a major party. They must record their strength and so voter registration is extremely important. I wish Malcolm X and other leaders luck in awakening Negroes to their strength, even though I realize they may never overcome the human devastation caused by 300 years of slavery.

H.S.

Easter Peace Walk

Red Bank, N. J.

As a participant in last week-end's Easter Peace Walk I was

glad to see people selling *The Militant*.

I was particularly encouraged when I heard some of the speakers speak favorably of Cuba. Particularly, Leon Davis of the hospital workers union who demanded an end of the U.S. policy of aggression against Cuba. One speaker who made an anti-Cuban remark was soundly booed, so you can see why I am encouraged. Keep up the good work.

D.B.

Tumbling Tombstones

New York, N. Y.

What's that screeching sound I hear?

Why, that's little Robbie McNamara whistling as he walks past the graveyard of John Foster Dulles' "Asian Protectorates." The tombstones are falling like dominoes.

Taylor Adams

Trend by Mrs. Peabody?

Brooklyn, N.Y.

Mrs. Malcolm Peabody, the mother of the governor of Massachusetts, has my hat off to her for going to jail in the Florida civil rights demonstration. Maybe she'll set a trend in the political set.

Can you feature Lady Bird Johnson flying into a civil rights struggle — say in Georgia, where a lot of her relatives live. She had an opportunity last week. While she was receiving an honorary degree from the Texas Women's University in Denton, cops in nearby Fort Worth were busting the heads of Negroes for moving into a "white" community.

S.W.

It Was Reported in the Press

Our Office Is Filled With Them

— *New Yorker* magazine fashion reporter Lois Long offers this bit of enthusiastic intelligence: "Norman Norell is universal. His simple little wool-jersey dresses, country style, are epidemic . . . The dresses concerned are \$295 to \$325 (and many of them are unlined), but the customers not only never give them away but keep on buying them . . . All around the city, too, I saw examples of Norell's waist-length jersey jackets . . . to be worn over sleeveless oval-necked jersey dresses. . . . Take \$775 to Lord & Taylor, say, for these last ensembles." We would if we thought we could get through the crowd at the counter.

Polygraphs Popular — The federal government gave "lie detector" tests to 23,122 persons last year, exclusive of an additional undisclosed number administered by the CIA. This was reported April 4 by the House Committee on Government Operations which expressed concern because in many cases the tests were administered by military men, "some of whom only had five days training." Even when administered by experts, the polygraphs are considered only 72 per cent accurate in detecting lies. A large portion of the tests were administered in "security" checks.

All the News That Fits — The April 5 *New York Times* carried an AP dispatch reporting that two defectors from Cuba who hijacked a helicopter were released by Immigration authorities and given special permission to leave the Miami area. Either the *Times*, the UPI, or both, forgot to mention that the Cuban government had requested the extradition of the

two so they could be tried for the murder of the helicopter pilot.

Skulls They'll Break, Not Bottles

— Mississippi's Gov. Johnson is having trouble getting the state solons to give him broad new police power and an added number of state cops. The lawmakers, explains the UPI, fear the force would be used "to enforce liquor laws," instead of beating up on civil rights demonstrators as the sponsors of the bill insist they will.

Make the Fix Official? — New York State Attorney General Louis Lefkowitz has ruled that a justice of the peace may also be licensed as a judge of wrestling matches. But he warned that if a crime is committed in the ring the justice will not be able to sit in the case.

Self-Help — Shortly after he made his ruling on justices of the peace and wrestling judges, Attorney General Lefkowitz issued a press release warning housewives "to be wary of the glib-mouthed salesmen peddling shoddy wares." The best protection

against fraud and deception, he said, "is an alert consumer." Better protection, presumably, than the attorney general's office.

Wed Now, Pay Later — The average young family, in their first four years of marriage, spends about 150 per cent of each year's income financing a home, an automobile, and even a baby, according to Dr. Arthur Upgren, an economics professor.

Tough-Situation Dep't — Mme. Ngo Dinh Nhu, acid-tongued sister-in-law of the late Vietnam dictator, Ngo Dinh Diem, is now living in a Paris apartment with her four children. Her staff consists of a cook, a governess for the two smaller children, a personal maid and a secretary. But when she first arrived in Paris the going was rough. She told a newsman: "The first three months were very difficult here. I had no one. Even when I was a prisoner of the Viet Cong I had two or three maids with me, but here I had to do the housework, my secretary was doing the cooking and my two oldest children the washing up."

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Thought for the Week

"The world being a madhouse, who is more fitting to patrol its wards than armed idiots?" — Comment on police by the late Brendan Behan, Irish poet, playwright and rebel.

10 YEARS AGO

IN THE MILITANT

"Some 6,000 Roman Catholic police in New York City, following an 8 a.m. mass celebrated by Archbishop Francis Cardinal Spellman at St. Patrick's Cathedral, crammed into four Hotel Astor ballrooms on Sunday, April 4, to yell and stamp in a riotous ovation to fascist Senator Joseph McCarthy. Many of these fascist-loving cops were fresh from strike-breaking duty on the city's vast waterfront. There they had been pushing, intimidating, manhandling, beating up, riding down and arresting union dock pickets, a majority of them Irish and Italian Catholic workers.

"The occasion for the cops' display of pro-McCarthy frenzy was the 36th annual communion breakfast of the Holy Name Society of the Police Department . . . His Eminence the Cardinal himself was there to beam on the demonstration for America's would-be Hitler . . . who was the main speaker and star attraction, and to praise McCarthy's talk . . .

"This doesn't mean that Catholic people are all behind McCarthy. Far from it. Certainly, the Catholic workers, among the worst exploited in America, are not behind McCarthy. But a powerful, if not decisive, sector of the Catholic hierarchy is more or less openly backing McCarthy." — April 12, 1954.

20 YEARS AGO

"Under pressure of growing resistance to the Jim Crow system, Roosevelt's Supreme Court last week upheld the right of Negroes to vote in the Texas Democratic Party 'lily-white' primaries. Barring of Negroes from Democratic primaries in Southern state, where nomination is tantamount to election, has been one of the many devices used by the Southern white ruling class to deprive Negroes of their political rights.

"While this formal lifting of one of the innumerable legal restrictions against the Negro is welcome, its effect will be limited. For this ruling still gives no assurance to any Negro who may attempt to vote in a Southern Democratic primary that he will not end up swinging from a tree by his neck . . .

"Terrorism and armed force have always been the real power that keeps the Southern Negro enslaved . . .

"A hundred Supreme Court rulings would not prevail against the actual means whereby the Southern white ruling class maintains its domination and power. Formal legalism will not suffice to emancipate the Southern Negro, when those who brutalize and degrade him snap their fingers at legalities and flaunt the whip and lynch rope before his face." — April 15, 1944.

Denver Cops Hit on Brutality Against Spanish-Americans

DENVER, Colo., April 2 — The Denver police department, which was rocked by scandal last year when a burglary ring involving city policemen was discovered to have been operating for some eight years, is now under fire from civil rights groups charging police brutality and discrimination.

The latest case to arouse protest is the death of Alfred Eloy Salazar, 19, who died of "massive brain injury" after a beating by a city policeman who was "moonlighting" for extra pay as a "guard" for a private employer.

Public indignation over the Salazar killing has forced Denver District Attorney Bert Keating to announce a request for a Grand Jury investigation into the death.

The Committee Against Police Brutality March 29 denounced Keating's action as "a smoke screen meant to divert public attention" and said that "a Grand Jury probe of the Salazar killing will reveal the truth only if it is led by a specially appointed investigator free of all prejudice."

The statement, signed by committee co-chairmen Tom Pino and Helen Lucero and secretary Nellie Garcia, declared that "a district attorney unable to uncover evidence of police malpractice during the entire period a professional burglary ring operated smoothly among Denver police will hardly notice a little skull-crushing and arm-fracturing by them."

The statement cited the following points:

"Mayor Currigan's repeated campaign pledge to establish an independent police review board has been broken. . . . After 19-year-old Salazar was manhandled and heaved into an all-steel city jail cell, it required action by a private citizen to get him transferred to a hospital where he died. . . . Both the police department and the District Attorney's office have failed to take testimony from key witnesses in cases involving police brutality in the past year. . . . some 45 policemen continue to hire themselves out as 'bouncers' for private taverns and liquor outlets."

"When the U.S. Supreme Court condemned Denver police for a 'gross violation' of the rights of



a young Spanish-American boy and the 'third degree' method of gaining confessions, Bert Keating and his police friends promptly declared their intention to continue in a business-as-usual way. . . .

"Officer Edward E. Nelson was previously exonerated of brutality charges by the Human Relations Commission which did not require his attendance at its closed hearings. Last week, he arrested a young parking lot attendant who dared to request that Nelson pay for a customer's parking place or leave the premises. Protesting by-standers were threatened with police clubs and the convenient charge of 'interference. . . .'"

The committee is demanding an "independent police review board" with members to be chosen by established civil rights groups, and an end to the practice of the police "investigating" themselves. Declaring that "the guns, badges, uniforms, clubs and power of arrest of city police should not be entrusted to the whims of bar owners," the committee is also demanding an end to such police "moonlighting."

"Continued police abuses of their authority and attacks on civil liberties, especially those of minority groups, will not be tolerated," the committee statement said. "Civil rights groups," said the statement, "will have no choice but to organize, demonstrate and march, if necessary, until this underground of cop violence exists no more."

welcoming the decision of the Justice Department not to appeal the ruling. The well-known journalist also took note, however, of a report that the Justice Department was considering prosecuting him for leaving the U.S. without a passport.

"After a prosecution that lasted almost two years," Worthy stated, "I am of course gratified that this unprecedented action by the government has now come to a whimpering conclusion. . . ."

"However, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy appears to be a poor loser. . . . Certain cry-baby officials in Washington would like to change their whimper of defeat into a snarl. If the government of the United States chooses anew to make itself ridiculous, I will again be forced to fight and win in the court of public opinion."

"In the long run, travel bans and arbitrary restrictions on passports are untenable. Nothing is ever settled until it is settled right. As soon as the State Department bows to the inevitable and drops all efforts to inhibit the free movement of U.S. citizens, this country will present a more mature and less frenzied image to the world."



William Worthy

ON NEW YORK'S EAST SIDE How a Young Couple Joined the Rent Strike

By Ethel Bloch

The first time I heard of the 27-year-old mother whom I later interviewed was while I was listening to the radio broadcast of the stormy Jan. 24 New York City Council hearings on rent control. She spoke from the council chamber that day of her miserable living conditions and the need for improvement. Her voice rang with the sincerity and desperation of one whose whole life has been spent in a slum.

I later learned that she lived just two blocks from me on New York's Lower East Side, and is one of the few white people who have become active in the rent strike. She has organized eight of the worst buildings in the past few weeks.

We sat in her living room-kitchen, while I talked with her and her young husband. The only other room was a small bedroom. These two rooms are on the ground floor of the tenement and face a dark alley. She took me out to the back and showed me a long row of garbage cans which are lined up directly under her windows. In the summer the windows must be kept closed because of the horrible smell and the millions of flies and roaches. The apartment is directly over the boiler and next door the motor from the refrigeration belonging to a fish store goes day and night making sleep a difficult thing. For this apartment they pay \$80 a month. While we chatted their seven year old son watched television and the six month old little girl smiled seemingly continuously.

Last Straw

Both husband and wife burst into laughter when I asked them how she had gotten into the Council meeting and involved in all this activity. It seems that the 24th of January was the "day of the last straw" for them. He had been out of work for a number of months and two days before had, with great hope, followed up an ad which asked for a porter for an apartment house in an uptown middle-class section. He had made a phone call and the job seemed promising. This they hoped would solve many problems for them, the foremost being to get out of this miserable neighborhood where they had both lived since birth.

The job offered an apartment plus a salary of \$120 per month. They would be living in a pleasant neighborhood, with a better school and park areas for their children to play in. Maybe this was the break they had been hoping for. But when the husband got up there he discovered they would have to live in two dark miserable basement rooms, and that he was not permitted to take on any side work. This meant that his pay would come to less than \$30 a week. This was impossible. He returned home and they were both bitter. The very next morning they were notified that their application for admission into a city housing project was rejected. They had been trying for years to get in and had even written to the Mayor.

Great Fury

These two blows enraged them. The young mother told me that in a great fury she decided to take a taxi down to see the Mayor. She felt that nothing could stop her. She must make him listen to her. She would tell him of all their efforts to improve their condition and of the failures. When she arrived at City Hall she noticed a huge crowd marching around and trying to enter the building. But conscious only of her own immediate purpose, she ignored it all, and stormed up the stairs. By sheer will she made



Photo by D.L.W.

THEIR HEADQUARTERS. New York rent strikers and neighborhood children at East Fourth Street headquarters of movement.

her way through the huge crowd into the City Council hearing room.

She marched up to the front and demanded of the chairman that she be allowed to see the Mayor. He told her that she would get a chance to speak and that she should sit down. She stayed up front and then slowly began to notice the furor which was going on all around her. There were tenants and there were landlords and there was a battle going on, at the podium, in the aisles, and around the door. She sized up the situation and saw that by pure coincidence her fury was merged with the fury of several thousand other poor people from slums all over the city. That day — with the rent strikers massed at City Hall — was a turning point in the life of this young couple.

The husband said that although an unskilled worker, he had until recently been able to find work in factories. He was fired from his last job, where he had worked for ten years for \$60 a week, because he dared ask for a raise. He blamed his inability to get better jobs on his lack of education.

Educated in Orphanages

He received his education in state orphanages, where his mother had placed him. For years the teachers in these institutions would hand him paper and crayons and let him draw pictures to his heart's content. His children, he stated with determination, were going to get a good education. When he discovered how terrible the public schools were in the area he took his boy out and placed him in a Catholic school, hoping that the discipline will encourage the boy to learn.

He said that while he was up in the middle-class neighborhood looking for the porter's job he decided to go into one of the public schools. He wanted to see what the school was like. He stayed outside one classroom door for over an hour. He couldn't tear himself away. The teacher spoke so pleasantly. Everything was clean. The children's books were in good condition. The atmosphere was so relaxed. He was overwhelmed at the difference between the public school his child had gone to and this one. He thinks he would have stood there all day if teachers in the hallway hadn't started to eye him suspiciously.

As we talked about the past years and the changes in the neighborhood he said in a sad but matter-of-fact voice, "You know, most of my friends are dead." He explained that some were killed in the Korean War, a few were shot

by the cops and some died from using narcotics.

The wife said that though she had never been in any organization before, she had always been a fighter. When she was 12 years old she had organized a sitdown on the street — preventing traffic from moving, because the neighborhood recreation center for girls wouldn't admit girls over 12. There was no other place for them to go in the evenings and after school so she figured that direct action might bring some results.

Left School

She always loved school but had to leave to help support a large family of which she was the oldest child. But she had managed to teach herself to type, to operate a power sewing-machine, and to be a waitress. She said that she had worked at everything except truck driving.

When we started talking about the Lower East Side Rent Strike their response was one of tremendous hope. But they shook their heads in puzzlement when relating how their friends didn't understand the importance of this rent strike. Some of their close friends criticize them for having joined a group made up predominantly of Negroes and Puerto Ricans. They are accused of having "lowered" themselves. The husband told how he answered one such friend. He asked her, "Are we poor? Do we need better schools? Do we need better apartments?" When she answered, yes, he told her that so are all these people — Negroes and Puerto Ricans — poor, and that they are the ones who are fighting for all these things which all poor people need, so there is no other way than to fight together.

They are now on welfare. They get two checks a month. One of \$80 is for rent and the other \$80 check is for all other expenses, including food, clothing, medicine, etc. Everything is itemized for them. If they have to spend more for medicine or vitamin drops for the baby they are supposed to use less for food (for which they are allotted \$1 per day). The wife suddenly broke into laughter as she told me how she is trying to convince their welfare investigator to join the rent strike.

As the husband walked me to the door he explained again that the Lower East Side Rent Strike, this organization of people who were living under the same miserable conditions as himself, was now his only hope of improving his way of life. All of us together, he said will help each one of us.